

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SS-20

NSC-07 ACDA-19 OIC-04 SAB-01 SAM-01 DODE-00 CU-04

NEA-10 DRC-01 H-03 DLOS-07 COA-02 EB-11 INT-08 FEA-02

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5470

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3956

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T USNATO 2397

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, UR, NL

SUBJECT: DUTCH POLITICAL DIRECTOR BRIEFS NAC ON FONMIN'S VISIT TO USS

R

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL

REF: A) MOSCOW 6450; B) HAGUE 2137

SUMMARY: DUTCH POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN LYNDEN GAVE FULL REPORT TO NATO COUNCIL ON FONMIN VAN DER STOEL'S LATE APRIL OFFICIAL VISIT TO MOSCOW, POSITIONS TAKEN BY SOVIETS SPARKED RENEWED EXPRESSIONS OF SKEPTICISM ON PART OF ALLIES AS TO CURRENT PROSPECTS FOR PROMPT, SUMMIT-LEVEL CONCLUSION OF CSCE. FOLLOWING COVERS ONLY THOSE POINTS NOT ALREADY FULLY REPORTED IN REFTELS. END SUMMARY

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1. CSCE. SOVIETS WERE STILL RESISTING ALLIED ATTEMPTS TO PLACE THE "SHEET OF PAPER" ON PEACEFUL CHANGE IN DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, OR TO LINK PEACEFUL CHANGE WITH ANY OF THE AGREED PRINCIPLES, EVEN THE ONE ON NON-USE OF FORCE. ON CBM'S, GROMYKO

STATED THAT PROVIDING ADVANCE INFORMATION ON TROOP MOVEMENTS WAS "TOTALLY UNREALISTIC AND NOT FEASIBLE." IN BASKET III THE SOVIETS WERE ONLY PREPARED TO TALK ABOUT CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND TOURISM. BOTH SIDES REMAIN FAR APART ON TIMING AND LEVEL OF FINAL STAGE, FORM OF FINAL ACT, AND ON FOLLOW-ON MACHINERY.

2. MBFR. SOVIETS WOULD NOT ADMIT ANY LINKAGE BETWEEN PROGRESS IN MBFR AND SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF CSCE. GROMYKO REFUSED "ALMOST ANGRILY" A U.S.-SOVIET FIRST PHASE REDUCTION, "AS IF HE WERE BRUSHING A FLY FROM HIS SLEEVE." DUTCH HAD REJECTED SOVIET PURSUIT OF AIR AND NUCLEAR ELEMENTS IN INITIAL REDUCTIONS, BUT TOLD SOVIETS THAT AFTER ESTABLISHING COMMON CEILING THERE WOULD BE LESS NEED FOR TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

3. LAW-OF-THE SEA. BOTH SIDES AGREED ON LIMITED 12-MILE WIDTH FOR TERRITORY SEA, FREE TRANSIT THROUGH STRAITS AND HOLDING TO A MINIMUM EXCLUSIVE RIGHTS OF COASTAL STATES IN BROAD ECONOMIC ZONE. THEY DIFFERED ON MODE OF SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, AND ON EXTENT OF POWERS TO BE GIVEN TO THE INTERNATIONAL REGIME FOR THE SEA FLOOR. ON BILATERAL MATTERS, SOVIETS REJECTED NETHERLANDS COMPLAINT ABOUT EXCESSIVE USE OF RUSSO-NETHERLANDS FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY; BOTH SIDES AGREED TO CONSIDER PROPOSALS FOR JOINT PROCESSING AND PARTICIPATION OF GAS AND OIL ON CONTINENTAL SHELF AND COOPERATION IN CHEMICALS AND MACHINE INDUSTRIES.

4. IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION, NEARLY ALL PERMREPS EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR COMPLETE NATURE OF VAN LYNDEN'S BRIEFING. BELGIAN, DANISH AND GERMAN PERMREPS COMMENTED ON CONTINUING "GLACIAL" SOVIET MOVEMENT IN CSCE. IN REPLY TO CANADIAN QUESTION, VAN LYNDEN SAID DUTCH FOUND NO SIGNS OF FLEXIBILITY ON SOVIET POSITION IN LEVEL AND TIMING OF THIRD CSCE PHASE. ON MBFR, BELGIAN PERMREP COMMENTED THAT SOVIET POSITION SEEMED TO RAISE QUESTION WHETHER THERE WAS ANY NEED TO RECONVENE IN VIENNA. VAN LYNDEN REPLIED THAT SOVIETS WERE PROBABLY UNWILLING TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO ANY BILATERAL REDUCTIONS UNTIL THEY HAVE SOME REASSURANCE THAT ALLIES WOULD BE WILLING TO REDUCE IN A SECOND PHASE. IN REPLY TO QUESTION BY MENZIES WHETHER THERE WAS ANY SECRET

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SIGN OF SOVIET CONCERN ABOUT EC INTEGRATION, VAN LYNDEN SAID THAT THERE WAS NONE, BUT MENTIONED INTERESTING RECOLLECTION OF HIS OWN, TO WIT THAT SOVIETS HAD AT FIRST REFUSED TO DEAL WITH BENELUX AS AN ENTITY, BUT HAD EVENTUALLY NEGOTIATED TRADE PACT WITH BENELUX AS A WHOLE.

5. FOLLOWING VAN LYNDEN'S PRESENTATION, U.S. REP (MCAULIFFE) DREW ON STATE 89847 (NOTAL) IN INFORMING NAC OF CSCE ASPECTS OF SECRETARY'S APRIL 28-29 TALKS WITH GROMYKO.

6. COMMENT: VAN LYNDEN'S REPORT, THE FIRST RECENT APPEARANCE HERE OF A EC MEMBER POLITICAL DIRECTOR EXCEPT IN CONTEXT OF RECENT REINFORCED NAC, PROVIDES GOOD PRECEDENT FOR SUCH BRIEFINGS.

EMBASSY HAGUE MAY WISH TO EXPRESS MISSIONS'S APPRECIATION FOR TIMELY  
REPORT AND EXCELLENT MANNER IN WHICH IT WAS PRESENTED.  
RUMSFELD

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